/906 cont./

X881 621 without interruption. Although he does not exert any noticeable pressure and does not in any way state his requests to individuals as though he were commanding them, nevertheless no one would ignore a wish that he expressed. If a participant should not like something, he is always free to withdraw from the Xčiexaus.

In the Great Hut one can sometimes see amazing examples of powerful self-control. Occasionally one person will subordinate himself to another or this one will get together with that one, although formerly both were bitter enemies. Everyone puts aside all personal considerations if service for the community or the launching of a common enterprise demands it. For example, shortly before the beginning of the Xčiexaus in March, 1922, Calderon had a serious disagreement with Santiago who was much older, but Santiago had scarcely initiated the preparations as the leader before Calderon, too, was following his slightest suggestion. When he was asked about the sudden change in his behavior, Calderon frankly admitted: "The rule is that among us Yamana everyone in the Xčiexaus must obey absolutely!"

X881 805 Dependence on the leader is all the more necessary since there are no definitely determined, specific divisions of the day. There are, of course, general regulations, but the Yamana do not decide beforehand what is going to take place at one hour and what at another, what is to come up now or later, how each one is to conduct himself. In this celebration, too, our Yamana are true creatures of the moment, entirely dependent upon their moods. It would be unthinkable and a hopeless undertaking to try to put our freedom-loving Indians on a kind of schedule. The leader is, so to speak, constantly present in a supervisory capacity; he superintends the running /907/ of the whole, directs one person here, another there, and demands this or that service. It is due to the unconditional obedience with which every participant submits that the initiation proceeds without friction.

X881 788 Throughout the weeks of the Xčiexaus a varied ceremonial runs its course, which has probably taken shape as a result of the natural disposition of the Yamana. Above all they demand the facial painting (p.788) without which no one formerly was allowed to sit in the Great Hut. A person who offers something or who has accepted something must observe a fixed formula. For example, the uwala who bring the fruits of their hunting or gathering into

/907 cont./

X 881 .788 the ʔíʔaxan hut immediately begin distributing them. Each one places himself in front of an adult, moves whatever he holds in his hand up and down while uttering a soft hóhohohohō, and hands it to him. He receives it and in doing so repeats the same motions and utterance. Women and men who give something to another person observe a similar formality, as do the kitchen women in distributing the meal. A person coming in with something which is not passed on to others holds the object at shoulder-height in his upraised hands and capers around the room with it two or three times. *For example, this is the behavior of* women with a bundle of rushes which they have gathered outside and need here for plaiting baskets. Before a person takes the first bite of a piece of meat, he raises this, too, up and down a few times with a soft hóhohohohō. If someone steps into the Great Hut or leaves it, several people sitting near the entrance repeat this hóhohohohō. The singing must never cease completely, not even during meals and during the night's sleep. During the singing everyone must put on his hapaxēl and hold his dance staff in his hand; if he goes outside he leaves both articles behind. Before the arrival of one of the customary groups of visitors, all the inmates renew their facial painting. If a few of the men go to the cookhut to visit the women there, they take along something for them, usually a little basket of ashes or glowing charcoal, even a burning stick of wood, for anyone who pays a visit must always bring a present. We shall mention below a few other ritualistic customs.

X 881 624 The deeper reason for the unconditional submissiveness of all participants and for their zeal in faithful servile in their great respect for the traditional ʔíʔaxan arrangement and their insight into its universal social significance. They also regard their participation as a real duty, not only as enjoyment or as a good opportunity for a thorough exchange of ideas. There are no punishments for adults, for the simple reason that they are not necessary. Everyone knows, in any case, how carefully his way of life and his conduct are everywhere observed and discussed by the people at large. They minutely inspect important and unimportant details in connection with each person. In the ʔíʔaxan hut particularly the individual is subjected to open observation and to the

/1303 cont./

825 787 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sĭta circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 824 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch hĕ́pul (Taenioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 787 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron tŭ́wux (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the tŭ́wux is venerated everywhere.

825 821 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 777 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged a Molinas goose sĕ́kuŭ (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p.503).

825 ● 788 A solitary sea duck, dĕ́ka (Tachyeres patachonicus), flying over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this dĕ́ka will take with it the kĕ́spĕl of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1304 cont./

uttering a loud, hissing ī sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kīnpil of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ōlka (p. 593). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, ūruwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they did not do this, ūruwa would pull their breasts far down, this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This ūruwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (*Fissurella*) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the pūjakakīpe, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word pūjaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare BD:370); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which pūjakakīpe sees everything that happens around it."

If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watayinīwa.